1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages. They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village, clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation, they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization. They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima, called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded, reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing, though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago. It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony, such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

614 with paternal descent. Of these, maam and vaaf belong to the Buz-
616 zard moiety, aapap and apki to the Coyote. A recently added sib, called okori, seems to be a catchall to take care of people whose affiliation is lost and varies as to moiety. The sib of an informant was recorded where known, but it seemed to have little to do with ceremonial functioning.

621 The important unit in ceremonial life, as in economic life, was the village. Each dialect group comprised some four or five of these, each with its cluster of offshoots and its hill camps, for use in the dry season.[2] Isolated in their separate valleys, these "village units" did not necessarily co-operate even for war. Each had its own set of hereditary officers, its local fetish, and its version of the ceremonies. Each was suspicious of its neighbors, particularly those of another dialect division. When they met for intervillage games, they prefaced the contest with a ceremony of challenge, indicative of the hostility that was inwardly felt. Had each of these units been given a separate grant of land, as was done for the Pueblos, we can imagine that they might have developed differences comparable to those of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa.

791 A thorough study of these regional differences might cast some light on population movements in Papago and Pima country during the restless millennium before the coming of the whites. Very different influences have been operative there, for some ceremonies reflect the needs of an organized, agricultural people, some those of hunters and individualists. However the ceremonies arose, Papago culture has turned them all to one purpose—rain. War, puberty, curing, even the gathering of salt, were not crowned with success unless they brought this one supreme boon to a desert people.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

793 As a preface to Papago religious beliefs, it may be well to outline the origin myth. This myth does not form a consistent basis for the ceremonies as dó, for instance, the Navaho hero narratives. In some respects, indeed, the rituals draw close to it, and the songs and speeches are said to have been used when the need for super-

[2] *Ibid.*

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *mâ'makah*, a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap*, but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[11]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important ceremonial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

[11] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

616 [824] blew tobacco smoke over him. These smokers held in their mouths a different herb according to the moiety of the man to be purified: a sweet grass for the Coyote moiety and *yerba mansa* for the Buzzard. At the corn dance, which is now only a tradition, Coyote people painted their bodies with white splashes, Buzzard people with red.

Moiety influenced a man's choice of guardian spirit and his dreaming of songs. A Coyote man would be very likely to dream of Coyote, though other animals would be possible. He would never dream of Buzzard, who helps his own "partners".

The Coyote moiety is numerically in the majority as may be noticed in the list of informants. In fact it was difficult to find enough Buzzards to be sure their side of the story would be heard. In songs and chants the expression "our partner" is taken to refer to Coyote without further description, while Buzzard rarely appears.

[522] However, every one is still aware of his moiety (with the exception of one clan to be mentioned below). People use the knowledge principally to taunt one another in joke. This may be done privately but is also much in use at festivals, where it seems to be semi-ceremonial.

"Two women, a Buzzard and a Coyote, came to a pond where a coyote had been drinking. 'Oh, how bad it smells!' said the Buzzard woman. 'That is your partner.' 'Your's smells worse,' said the Coyote woman." (22)

"The Buzzard people, seeing a buzzard in the air, will say: 'Our partner is always dancing.' Coyotes reply: 'He has to stay up there. He smells bad.'" (22)

"'Your partner steals,' say the Buzzards. 'Well, yours eats dead things' the Coyotes reply." (22)

[224] A Coyote man would never kill a coyote. If the animal pilfered from his garden, he would simply submit. "We can't chase away our partner." In killing a deer he would leave the entrails and perhaps a piece of meat hanging on a tree, saying: "Here, partner. This is your share." A village called "Coyote Lives There" once contained a tame coyote, which informants think must have been kept by a member of the Coyote moiety. "It would not stay for a Buzzard." There are fewer stories about the treatment of Buzzard, whose cult seems to have lapsed.

Sibs

●614 Five patrilineal sibs are known, with a legendary sixth and seventh. They are:

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Coyote		Buzzard		614
aapap-kam	aapap people	maam-kam	maam people	
apki-kam	apki people	waahw-kam	maam people	
Uncertain		**Legendary**		
o'kari-kam	o'kari people	a'to-kam	a'to people	
		si pat-kam	bad people	

The distinguishing characteristic of these sibs is that a father is called by his children, not by the ordinary word for father, but by the stem of the sib name: aapap, maam, etc. This is similar to the custom in Yuman tribes of calling the women of one sib by a common sib title.[1] The father term is used to every father in the sib by both male and female children and women do not cease to use it on marriage. Therefore no Papago can be unaware of his sib, though all its functions may have been lost. 614 551

The placing of the sibs in the moieties is not entirely clear. All informants agreed. that the aapapkam were Coyote and the maamkam Buzzard. In fact these main sibs were sometimes used as synonymous with the moieties and many had never heard of any others. When they had, they assigned them a subsidiary position. For example, apkikam is the youngest clan (12); waahwkam is slave to the others and has no real partner, but looks to black buzzard who is slave to yellow buzzard, the moiety totem (20). 614

It was the common opinion that, four being the ceremonial number, there ought not to be more than four sibs and informants tried to explain away one or another, the omitted one being little represented in the speaker's neighborhood. Thus some informants thought that apki was merely a variation of aapap and that the two constituted one sib (5). Others thought the waahwkam existed only among the Pimas (20). The writer is inclined to agree with the greater number who were convinced that the o'korikam were not a sib at all (12, 23, 16). The proof was that most informants did not know to which moiety the o'korikam belonged and some o'korikam (35) had the same difficulty. Most of this sib have come from below the Mexican border where there has been more fighting and scattering than at the north. They may have been people who had lost clan affiliation and had taken the ordinary word for father, ok, and made a diminutive. The legendary sib, á'tokam, was said (10) to have been that of Elder Brother himself which came up from underground but went back at last, and he with it. The sipáṭkam were bad people who never joined the others in the expedition above ground (25). [801]

[1] Forde, 143; Kroeber 1919, 741,; Spier 1933, 187.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

614 There is no tradition of sib exogamy and, as has been remarked of moiety, such a rule would be in direct conflict with the kinship terms and the present marriage regulations. Every Papago, if he uses the old father term, must know his own sib but so little has it to do with daily life that he rarely knows the sib of another. Informants, asked for such information had to try to remember hearing the individual in question address his father. If they could not recall this, they did not know the sib, even of their own mothers. In the census of old settlements appended to this paper, sib is omitted because it could be obtained in less than half the cases.

The few sib functions which persist are ceremonial like those of the moiety. In fact, as has been mentioned, some functions are ascribed to the pricipal sibs, aapapkam and maamkam, which may be historically moiety functions, since no mention of the other sibs is made. Thus at Pisinimo, when the men take their places for the drinking ceremony, the maamkam sit at east and south, the aapapkam west and north (1). When a deer was killed for the deer dance, an aapapkam ran home with the tail, a valued ceremonial object, while a maamkam must always carry the meat. The meat must be cooked by old women belonging to both sibs. A tradition which takes cognizance of four or more sibs is that which says that at the singing which precedes the ceremonial drinking, there should be four dancers at the head of the line, one for each sib (1).

There are indications that the sibs may once have been localized. Though at present members of all may be found in any locality, there is a preponderance of maamkam at Pisinimo and Kaka and of aapapkam at Archie, while the o'korikam are grouped near and across the Mexican border. This is similar to the southern Shoshoneans whose sib names, when translatable, often refer to localities.[1] The Papago names which are untranslatable, all but that of the legendary "bad people", may have had similar connection. In that case, however, the localities referred to must be past and not present habitats, since the Pima, in a different geographic location, have the same sibs.

Kinship

602 In practice, there is little feeling that a man's sib mates are nearer to him than the members of other sibs. The important grouping is that resulting from the kinship system which is bilateral. The close relatives are "the down on his legs", "the other end of his navel string", and these are on both sides, often in several sibs.

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[1] Strong, 330.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

593 his sons formed a friendly group in which custom demanded that his should be the deciding voice. But if a son was recalcitrant, no father would take such strong measures as to oust him from the family land or otherwise discipline him. The attitude of most fathers was one of extreme protectiveness: "My son has moved away to get more land but I'll be watching him. As soon as he has any trouble, I'll be right there. I have to help him: he's my child" (2). The Papago attitude toward a son is so different from the Hebrew attitude of proprietorship that a Papago being told about the atonement protested: "A God who would let his own son be killed cannot be my God. No father should do that."

A father's attitude toward his daughter was far less intimate, for she was part of the female group and received her instruction from her mother. But she listened to his moral discourse at night and was lectured on important occasions. It was his responsibility to see that she was a desirable citizen and one informant thought that in old days a father who failed to see that his daughter was segregated at the menstruation period would be whipped. The father, with the mother's help, selected a husband for her and made the proposal. After that he handed her training over to her father-in-law. Sometimes he retained his protective attitude toward her, summoning her at harvest to help herself from his field, (I. 4. A. 1) and sometimes carrying her gifts. (No. 2 takes meat seventeen miles to his married daughter whenever he kills a beef.) If she was widowed or divorced, she returned and he again assumed responsibility for her (I. 2. H. 3). But also, if he had no sons, he might call on his daughters' husbands to help him and even if they had lands of their own, they and their wives did him service (I. 7. C).

593 This responsibility of the father for the patriarchal family had not, in the memory of informants, any connection with the sib as a whole.
614 Yet the sib term, used instead of a father title, might indicate that he was a sib head, even embodied the sib like the MacPherson or the O'Donohue. But we have mentioned before how little connection the sib has with Papago life. The use of a sib title in the kin terms is in direct variance with the system of terminology. There are traces here of two incompatible customs and Papago usage seems to correspond with the majority of the kin terms in ignoring sib.

593 The mother, who was the head of the female group, had her most
562 intimate companionship with her daughters. She and they were constantly together until the daughters married and their place in the female group was taken by daughters-in-law. Her sons were always occupied with the men but they were members of the home group and she cooked and cared for them perhaps until her death.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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THE PAPAGO FAMILY

Today there is no wider kin group among the Papago than the extended family. One type of kinship terminology which is dying out on the Reservation has been correlated by Underhill with a former sib structure.[11] The several different terms for "father" in this terminology seem to have indicated patrilineal lines. The significance of these terms today is difficult to determine, for they are being replaced rapidly by the generalized term for "father" (*auk*) or, in many families, by "daddy." It is safe to say that no well-developed clan concept survives and that the present concept of the family and the extended family has not changed radically within the past generation.

The old people say that, when I'itoi created men, he called the first one a Coyote, the next a Buzzard, the third a Coyote, and so on until all mankind (i.e., all the Papago) was divided into two groups. The younger people today hardly know to which group they belong, and some say that they belong to both; even for the elders the terms seem to have little significance except on ceremonial occasions, when they form the basis of standardized joking.

The Papago have no other formalized humor as do many Indian tribes, but jokes and teasing are the salt of daily life. Low and spontaneous laughter rises whenever the Desert People are gathered together, or the occasion is indeed a serious one.

MAKING A LIVING TOGETHER

In Papago society the household is the fundamental economic unit, and each member does his share of the work necessary to make a living in this difficult environment. Men are responsible for tilling the fields and caring for the livestock; women manage the domestic essentials; children help with the household or farm chores according to their strength and ability. The division of labor is thus fairly definite, but all work together when necessary. Women and children help bring in the crops and gather wild plants and fruits. Boys of ten or eleven often plow.

Both men and women make articles for sale or barter. Most women know how to weave baskets; a few make pottery or occasionally sew for others. The men tan leather and braid ropes of rawhide or horsehair. Money earned by handicrafts is thought of as belonging to the artisan rather than to the group, but in a society where incomes are low, a considerable proportion of such earnings must be used for family needs.

Since the introduction of wage work, some members of the family, particularly the young adults, are beginning to feel less obligation to contribute to the household. Most of them, however, continue to help, either bringing home provisions or sending money. Wage-earners who do not assist the family are

11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32–33.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was 525
one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in 556
which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There 621
were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather 622
a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a 624
crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid 177
organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their 622
villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the 614
male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from *Papago Social Organization* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

614 he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This 46 custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

841 Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth
854 and death are no longer practiced but there are enough
846 old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

881 Young children were continually urged to be indus-
[571 trious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were
461] expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the par-
582 ents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the